

Message Text

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FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE

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SUBJECT: SAFIRE ARTICLE

FOLLOWING FOR YOUR INFO IS TEXT OF WILLIAM SAFIRE COLUMN IN
MARCH 23 NEW YORK TIMES ENTITLED "CHAPLAIN TO THE WORLD."

WASHINGTON - A CHILL WENT THROUGH THE CARTER FOREIGN-DE-
FENSE ESTABLISHMENT A COUPLE OF WEEKS AGO WHEN WORD GOT
AROUND THAT SAMUEL HUNTINGTON-"THE LAST OF THE HAWKS"-WAS
TO BE THE PRINCIPAL AUTHOR OF THE PRESIDENT'S DEFENSE SPEECH
AT WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.

SURE ENOUGH, THE FEARS OF THE ACCOMMODATIONISTS WHO NOW PER-
MEATE THE FOREIGN POLICY APPARATUS WERE JUSTIFIED: AFTER A
YEAR OF OLIVE-BRANCHING THAT RESULTED ONLY IN SOVIET SCORN,
THE PRESIDENT LAST WEEK READ A SPEECH DENOUNCING THE "MYTH"
THAT "THIS COUNTRY IS PULLING BACK FROM PROTECTING ITS IN-
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TERESTS AND ITS FRIENDS AROUND THE WORLD."

THE MYTH, OF COURSE, IS THE REALITY, WHICH IS WHY THE PRESI-
DENT WAS FORCED TO MAKE A YOU-BETTER-STOP-PUSHING-US-AROUND
SPEECH. IN ALL PROBABILITY, THE WINSTON-SALEM BROADSIDE WAS
A ONE-SHOT, TO BE USED IN SELLING SALT TO CONGRESS BUT NOT
TO BE VIEWED AS A HARBINGER OF ANY HARDENING.

A PRESIDENT CANNOT QUICKLY CHANGE THE CHARACTER OF HIS FOREIGN POLICY. CONTRARY TO POPULAR BELIEF, POLICY IS NOT HAMMERED OUT IN CLASHES BETWEEN NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER ZBIGNIEW ("WOODY WOODPECKER") BRZEZINSKI AND SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS VANCE, WHO SUPPOSEDLY PRESENT DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW FOR CARTERS DECISIONS.

IN REAL POLICY LIFE, DECISIONS ARE ENGINEERED IN THE MIND-SETS OF THE MEN WHO PLAN AND ADMINISTER FOREIGN AFFAIRS BELOW THE SURFACE OF CELEBRITY. TWO YEARS AGO, WITH PRE-SCIENCE RARE FOR ME, I WROTE OF THE "NEW-BOY NETWORK" PREPARING TO TAKE OVER AFTER HENRY KISSINGER LEFT THE SCENE. NOW IT IS IN PLACE, CREATING THE AMERICAN POSTURE THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE FOUND SO TEMPTING TO CHALLENGE.

IN AFRICA, UNITED STATES POLICY AND OPERATIONS ARE CONCEIVED AND CARRIED OUT BY DAVID AARON, NOW NO. 2 MAN AT THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL, AND FORMERLY FRITZ MONDALE'S MAN AT THE SENATE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE, WORKING WITH RICHARD MOOSE, A DISCIPLE OF SENATOR WILLIAM FULBRIGHT AT THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, LONG A LEADING EXPONENT OF U.S. WITHDRAWAL FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA.

MESSRS. AARON AND MOOSE BOTH HAVE LIFELONG COMMITMENTS TO DISENGAGEMENT, WITHDRAWAL, ACCOMMODATION. BOTH HAVE UNCLASSIFIED

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RECENTLY BEEN PRESIDENTIAL ENVOYS TO THE HORN OF AFRICA, AND BOTH WILL REPORT BACK TO MR. CARTER VIEWS FROM EYES THAT NARROW AT THE PROSPECT OF ACTIVELY CONFRONTING SOVIET PROBES. MR. CARTER HAS TO FOLLOW THE ADVICE-HE HAS NO INDEPENDENT VIEW TO DISPUTE IT-AND IN THAT WAY IS THE POLICY MADE TO CAVE IN TO PRESSURE ON SOMALIA, CHAD, KENYA AND RHODESIA.

ANTHONY LAKE, WHO STORMED OUT OF THE N.S.C. IN 1970 OVER THE CAMBODIA INCURSION (STRANGE HOW LITTLE WE HEAR ABOUT THE BLOODBATH IN CAMBODIA NOW), ALSO HAS A HAND IN THE RELUCTANCE OF THIS GOVERNMENT TO SUPPORT THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA. TONY LAKE GHOSTED HENRY KISSINGER'S 60,000-WORD POLICY STATEMENT IN 1970; HE GHOSTS MOST OF CY VANCE'S SPEECHES TODAY, AND PEOPLED THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION WITH MOST OF THE "NEW-BOYS NETWORK."

IN THE MIDEAST, NEW BOYS AND OLD BOYS COMBINE TO GIVE THE "TILT" TOWARD ACCOMMODATING RADICAL ARABS. PROBABLY THE MOST IMPORTANT THINKER IS PUBLICITY-SHY WILLIAN QUANT OF THE N.S.C., A FORMER UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA ACADEMIC. LONG-TIME STATE DEPARTMENT ARABIST ALFRED LEROY ATHERTON, WHO ACCEPTED A REPRIMAND FOR LEAKING SECRETS TO HELP A

WRITER BETTER GLORIFY THE KISSINGER GENIUS AT ISRAELI COST,
IS NOW CHIEF SHUTTLE.

MR. ATHERTON'S RISE MAKES ROOM FOR HAL SAUNDERS TO BE
ASSISTANT SECRETARY STATE FOR THE MIDDLE EAST. THAT OLD
KISSINGER HAND COULD TELL THE SENATE ALL THE DETAILS ABOUT
THE SECRET SELLOUT OF THE KURDS, IF THEY WANTED TO ASK IN
DETAIL; I BELIEVE HE WOULD TREAT THE ISRAELIS WITH THE
SAME AMORAL PRACTICALITY. (MEANWHILE, IN A NICE IRONIC
TWIST, HENRY HAS NOW EMBRACED MENACHEM BEGIN, THE PRESENT
TARGET OF HIS OLD PROTEGES; EVIDENTLY THE KISSINGER DESIRE
TO SUCCEED JACK JAVITS AS NEW YORK'S SENATOR IN 1980 HAS
LED TO A "REASSESSMENT.")

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THROUGHOUT THE ADMINISTRATION-FROM MONDALITE LYNN DAVIS AT
DEFENSE TO BROOKINGSITE BARRY BLECKMAN AT ARMS CONTROL TO
KENNEDYITE BOB HUNTER AT THE N.S.C.-WELL-INTENTIONED
YOUNG PEOPLE AT THE LEVERS OF IMPOTENCE ARE PRODUCTS OF
VIETNAM'S ANTI-INVOLVEMENT HOTHOUSE, ALL ANXIOUSLY SUPPORT-
ING EACH OTHER'S HOPES THAT THE BEST WAY TO DISCOURAGE
COMMUNIST EXPANSION IS TO IGNORE IT.

HOW MUST THESE ACCOMMODATIONISTS FEEL WHEN THEIR PRESIDENT
READS A COLD-WARRIOR SPEECH? THEY REMIND EACH OTHER THAT
TRILATERALITE SAM HUNTINGTON IS ON HIS WAY OUT. BUT THEY
MUST WONDER: WHAT IF THEIR LIFE'S BASIC POLICY TENET IS
WRONG? WHAT IF IT IS THEIR NONINVOLVEMENT POLICY THAT HAS
LED TO OUR EMBARRASSMENT IN AFRICA, OUR HUMILIATION IN
BELGRADE ON HUMAN RIGHTS, AND THE FEELING ABROAD THAT IS
NO MYTH THAT "THIS COUNTRY IS PULLING BACK FROM PROTECTING
ITS INTERESTS...."

AND HOW MUST THE PRESIDENT FEEL? HIS SELECTION OF POLICY-
MAKERS HAS BOXED HIM IN, TURNING THE UNITED STATES INTO
THE CHAPLAIN TO THE WORLD, ACTING TO CONTAIN ALLIES ONLY,
SPEAKING STERNLY AND CARRYING A WEAK REED. VANCE

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